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by the way, is to Monroe, almost to the end of the period in question, "the federal town" or "the federal city." It is not till February 1801 that he can bring himself to call it the City of Washington. More than usual interest attaches to his annual communications to the Virginia legislature.

On the whole, the volume is not filled with remarkable things. It will not dissipate the impression that Monroe was a somewhat dull man; George Long, it will perhaps be remembered, thought him excessively so. And if a whole volume is devoted to this quiet period of his life, the number of volumes to which the whole series must extend will be much greater than was expected, unless subsequent and highly important periods are disposed of with disproportionate haste.

A History of the People of the United States, from the Revolution to the Civil War. By JOHN BACH MCMASTER. Vol. V., 1821-1830. (New York: D. Appleton and Co. 1900. Pp. xiv, 577.)

THIS volume of Professor McMaster's masterpiece is in many respects unusually true to the peculiar promise of the title of the work. The period under inspection is that of Monroe's second term of office and of John Quincy Adams's administration with the introductory year of Jackson's reign. But, as in the preceding volume of the work the author has discussed the causes which led to the final rupture between the two wings of the Democratic-Republican party, he needs here to chronicle only the catastrophe. Out of fourteen chapters of the book before us, only six are devoted to the affairs of national politics and of the central administration. These six chapters are divided between the beginning and the end of the book and made to serve as covers to the body of the work, which is devoted to the consideration of sundry phases in the social and industrial evolution of the people of the United States. The first three chapters in the book contain, therefore, a summary of the important political and diplomatic events during Monroe's second term of office. In the first two chapters are presented the efforts for the suppression of the slave trade, the perilous controversies about the boundary in Texas and Oregon, and all the incidents and movements in Europe and South America which preceded and followed the declaration of the so-called Monroe Doctrine. The third chapter is entirely filled with the story of the presidential election of 1824, in the heat of which collision the crystallization of new parties began.

At the close of the book we find three more chapters in which the same subjects reappear, at the risk of some repetitions, which perhaps were inevitable after such an interval. Chapter LI. is devoted to the foreign policy of the Adams administration. It continues from Chapter XL. the discussion of our negotiations with England concerning the boundaries of Maine and Oregon and shows the unfriendly relations of the two countries over the West Indian trade. The statement of the varying phases of the boundary controversy during those years is admirably lucid,

and is illustrated by a map of Maine and the Maritime Provinces for the year 1830. The remainder of the chapter is filled with the story of the fiasco of the Panama Congress, showing all the threads of South American politics that were spun about that mortifying failure. The final paragraphs in Chapter XLI. about the support of the Latin-American republics against the Holy Alliance are substantially repeated (pp. 52-54, 438-440). The Central and South American republics would probably have secured the independence of both Cuba and Porto Rico at that time if our government had not feared to see the resultant establishment of a free negro population so near to our shores. It was due to slavery in the United States that Spanish misgovernment in the Antilles was endowed with a new lease of life. The slave power here bore to Spanish rule in America the same relation that Russia bears to Persia, at once its best friend and its worst foe, defending it against all attacks but its own. When slavery in the United States was overthrown, the Spanish authority in the Antilles was no less certainly doomed than that of the French in Mexico. It was interesting that the doom of the former should follow closely enough upon the heels of the latter to permit men who had been Confederate generals to become the agents of destiny. The author dismisses the magnificent visions and scanty realizations of the Adams administration with this view of foreign relations only, and passes on in Chapter LII. to the "bargain and corruption" cry against Adams and Clay which had already been partially examined in Chapter XLII. In the concluding chapter of the book (LIII.), the reader is introduced to the new heavens and new earth of Jackson's first administration, and the volume ends abruptly, in the midst of the mutterings of southern Democrats, in 1829, against the tariff.

Turning now to the eight chapters that compose the real substance of this volume, we pass at once from diplomatic conferences and congressional politics to a series of essays upon different aspects of the popular development during the generation prior to 1830. The author himself has provided a review of this part of his work in the following single sentence (p. 488), somewhat characteristically minute and unwontedly clumsy: "An attempt has been made to describe the life of the people in the cities, in the towns and villages, on the frontier; their ideas on government, on banking, on labor, on education, on literature, on the social problems of the time, have been reviewed; the astonishing betterment in the conditions of life brought about by new inventions and discoveries, new means of locomotion and the rise of new industries and new ways of gaining a livelihood, have all been described, and it is now time to turn, etc."

Under the topic "Socialistic and Labor Reforms" Professor McMaster groups together, first, a review of workingmen's parties in Philadelphia and New York City from 1791 to 1829; secondly, a description of the Owenite paradise at New Harmony, Indiana, where Robert Owen's enthusiastic disciple, William Maclure, awaited the time when he should see "foxes peering out of the windows of the crumbling buildings of

Philadelphia ;" thirdly, a lively sketch of the vagaries of Fanny Wright, and, finally, the origins of the anti-Masonic party in New York. The story of Morgan and anti-Masonry is out of place in such a chapter, for anti-Masonry was not socialistic or industrial in character. Anti-Masonry should find a place in the analysis of the political forces that made up the Adams or National Republican party, or in the story of the origins of the Whig party.

In a chapter entitled "The State of the Country from 1825 to 1829," the development of municipal government, trade and commerce is considered chiefly with reference to New York and Philadelphia, and then the story of coal-mines, canals, and pike-roads leads naturally to the ever interesting account of the social and industrial conditions in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. The only defect in this sketch is its brevity. This making of a nation out of chaos is exactly what Professor McMaster started to depict and exactly what his readers want to see. He paints these pictures with a spirit that shows his powers of description at their best and fortunately he enjoys a ready sympathy for the abundant humors of the processes of social creation.

When John Reynolds held his first court among the people who were his old neighbors, the sheriff sat astride of a bench and opened court with the words, "Boys, the Court is now open. John is on the bench."

"Judge," said the foreman of a hung jury, "this is the difficulty: the jury want to know whether what you told us when we first went out really was the law, or whether it was only just your notion."

"On one occasion the treasurer of the State of Illinois, after a protracted struggle in the Legislature, failed of re-election. But the vote had scarcely been counted when he entered the chamber, took off his coat, and soundly thrashed, one by one, four men who had voted against him. Both friends and opponents considered this as no more than the occasion required, and he was promptly made Clerk of the Circuit Court."

In Chapter XLV. "The Negro Problem" introduces the American Colonization Society, founded in 1816, followed by the story of early abolition societies, the career of Benjamin Lundy and the enlistment of William Lloyd Garrison in the anti-slavery cause. Out of 101 anti-slavery societies existing in 1826, 77 were in the slaveholding border states. The fact that nearly 1000 Abolition votes were cast in the city of Baltimore, presumably chiefly by Quakers, explains why Lundy and Garrison chose to work in that city.

"The Industrial Revolution" is the name given to the history of the rise and triumph of protectionist sentiment in the tariffs of 1824 and 1828. Two chapters are assigned to the literary history of the period. One chapter is almost entirely filled with the diatribes against us that appeared in the English quarterly reviews from 1814 to 1828, surely a disproportionate allotment of space in Professor McMaster's work, even if the readers of those reviews did not make a similar complaint. Some of the jibes of the Britons are justified by the extraordinary announcement of a Boston contemporary of the Quarterly, called *The Emerald*.

Its editors hoped that it "would be polished by the labors of the learned, and occasionally glitter with the gayety of wit, and would be found worthy to shine among the gems which sparkle on the regalia of literature."

Another topic is "The Common School in the First Half-Century," an outline of history beginning with an act of the Massachusetts General Court in 1647, and then confining itself mainly to the development of schools in New York and Pennsylvania and to the land-grants and other efforts in behalf of education in the south and west.

"Political Ideas in the First Half-Century" is the subject of the last essay in the series. The crop of new state constitutions that sprang up in the path of the Jeffersonian revolution is examined with reference to the gradual disappearance of religious and property qualifications upon the suffrage. The historian does not, however, do justice to the close relation between these political notions and the religious and social contentions which embittered political feeling, especially in New England. Other prevalent ideas were the general reluctance to concede the right of courts to annul laws by declaring them unconstitutional, the widespread desire to define more clearly the limitations upon executive power, and the fear that the expansion of the country would involve it in ruin. When Louisiana, a territory outside the original boundary of the United States, was an applicant for admission to the Union (1812), Josiah Quincy voiced the apprehensions of New England in words that have a familiar sound: "You have no right to throw the liberties and property of this people into hotch-potch with the wild men on the Missouri, nor with the mixed though more respectable race of Anglo-Hispano-Gallo-Americans who bask on the sands at the mouth of the Mississippi. Do you suppose the people of the Northern and Atlantic States will or ought to look with patience and see representatives and senators from the Red River and Missouri pouring themselves on this and the other floor, managing the affairs of a seaboard 1500 miles at least from their residence?" Twenty New England members voted "No."

These somewhat disconnected studies, excellent as they all are, leave something to be desired in historical perspective as well as in symmetry of arrangement. In the review of events that contributed to popular progress there is no sacrifice of clearness or interest. The style is terse, the perception of the human interest is acute, the argument or narrative is straightforward, logical and accurate. And yet, sometimes, the author seems to lack that large firm grasp of relations which should unite the different parts of the story for a common purpose. The dramatic sense that is needed in order to make the whole story impressive is not often perceptible in these pages, and while the author may gain thereby in sanity he may lose somewhat in force. If he must give as much attention to political history as he seems to think, one might wish for a keener analysis of the political and social reactions that precipitated, out of the Jeffersonian elements, here an Adams party and there a Jackson party. There are signs that Professor McMaster is becoming more liberal in his

allowance for the influence that strong personalities exert upon the popular mind—of which they are at once the expression and the guide. He writes, as has already been observed, with especial attention to affairs in New York and Pennsylvania, and yet this volume, which covers the time of the final triumphs and vicissitudes of DeWitt Clinton, contains no adequate study of that once-potent leader, of his influence upon national politics, or of the political affiliations of his enthusiastic following. In fact the history of our people in their political life between 1824 and 1830 is little more than a study of the power of rival personalities, an unequalled group of contemporary leaders, Jackson, Van Buren, Crawford, Randolph, Clay, Adams, Clinton, Webster and Calhoun. It is still true that no one will turn to Professor McMaster's book in order to find an adequate estimate of the influence that these men exerted during this period among our people and upon the development of political ideas and parties. Perhaps, too, it would have been well to shorten some of the abstracts of magazine articles, pamphlets and Congressional debates and to enlarge more upon the extraordinary results of the temperance agitation which spread rapidly in New England after 1824.

This volume contains five maps. The most interesting is a reproduction of a map of Texas made in Cincinnati in 1836, which shows the territorial grants made by the Mexican government up to that time. On page 417, line 19, it is evident that some word has been omitted. The title-page now announces that the whole work will occupy seven, instead of six volumes, a welcome change, and it would seem that eight would be none too many, if the present rate of progress is retained. The development of the people during the decades 1830 to 1850 is a more fruitful topic than any that Professor McMaster has yet discussed, and it is to be hoped that he will not hurry over it.

CHARLES H. LEVERMORE.

Theodore Parker, Preacher and Reformer. By JOHN WHITE CHADWICK. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co. 1900. Pp. xx, 422.)

IN a notice of Weiss's *Life of Parker*, written for the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1864, I said that for the then existing generation Parker must be interpreted by one of the family—by one spiritually related to him, if not bound by the feebler tie of blood. While the accents of the great preacher yet lingered in the Boston Music Hall, he was no subject for complacent literary speculation or calm judicial discourse. More than the thirty years allotted to a generation have passed, and there reaches us a life of Parker by one spiritually related to him indeed, yet capable of a valuation of the man and his work that leaves little to be desired. This new life takes its place, not only as an admirable introduction to the fuller biographies of Weiss and Frothingham, but as a generally satisfactory estimate of what its subject was and was not—of his immense accomplishment and of the defects that limited his gigantic manhood.